

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L BELGRADE 4979

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARA 1 LINE 5 - WORD "TOUGH" VICE
"THOUGH")

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM SILBERMAN

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, YO, UNGA
SUBJECT: U.S. POLICY TOWARD YUGOSLAVIA

REF : A) USUN 4379 B) BELGRADE 4778

1. ASTONISHED THAT AT VERY TIME YUGOSLAVS HAVE BEEN MORE
HELPFUL TO US ON ISSUES OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE THAN AT ANY
TIME IN MEMORY, USUN WOULD HAVE US GO AFTER THEM WITH MEAT
AXE. CONCEDE THAT WERE I IN MOYNIHAN'S POSITION I WOULD FIND
YUGOSLAVS AGGRAVATING BECAUSE TOUGH COMPETITION. I FIND THEM
DAMN AGGRAVATING IN BELGRADE AND THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT
CARDINAL PRINCIPLE OF THEIR NON-ALIGNED POLICY IS REDUCTION
OF US AND USSR WORLD INFLUENCE -- A PROBLEM I PREDICT WILL BE
PARTICULARLY SEVERE IN LATIN AMERICA WHERE YUGOSLAVS LOOKING FOR
ALLIES.

2. BUT SINCE YOUR VISIT HERE LAST NOVEMBER AND THE PRESIDENT'S
TRIP LAST MONTH, THE YUGOSLAVS HAVE PLAYED A CRUCIAL AND
POSITIVE ROLE ON TWO MULTILATERAL ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO US
-- PROMINENT IN BATTLE AGAINST ISRAELI EXPLUSION FROM THE UN AND
ACTING AS ONE OF THE PRIMARY ADVOCATES OF THE NON-ALIGNED SWITCH
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FROM RHETORICAL CONFRONTATION TO CONCRETE COOPERATION AT

THE SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION. RE PUERTO RICO WHATEVER PARLIAMENTARY TRICKS -- THIS YEAR FOR THE FIRST TIME THEY DID NOT SUPPORT THE ISSUANCE OF A RESOLUTION CRITICAL OF THE UNITED STATES.

3. EACH OF THESE ACTIONS BY THE YUGOSLAVS WAS CLEARLY THE RESULT OF THE RELATIONSHIP ESTABLISHED BY THE PRESIDENT AND BY YOU. AND BECAUSE THEY WERE CENTRAL ISSUES OF USG CONCERN, THEY HAVE BEEN PRIMARY SUBJECTS OF MY EFFORTS HERE. THE REAL ISSUE BEFORE US NOW IS HOW TO BUILD ON THAT FOUNDATION -- SEEKING THE KIND OF INCREASED COOPERATIONS WE HAVE ALREADY NOTED IN AREAS THAT GENUINELY MATTER TO US, BUT NOT EXPECTING GENERAL SUPPORT FOR AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY THROUGHOUT THE GLOBE WHICH THE YUGOSLAVS ARE PATENTLY UNABLE TO PRODUCE. FOR SHOULD OUR EXPECTATIONS EXCEED WHAT THE TRAFFIC WILL QUITE CLEARLY BEAR, WE WILL SET AT RISK A RELATIONSHIP WHICH IS OF GROWING VALUE.

4. HOW SHOULD WE PROCEED?

5. FIRST, I AM AN ARDENT SUPPORTER OF MOYNIHAN'S NEW MILITANCY IN NEW YORK. LET US RECOGNIZE WHEN THE YUGOSLAVS ARE AGAINST US AT THE U.N. , LET US NOT UNDERESTIMATE THEIR SKILLS AND THE DAMAGE THEY DO, AND LET US BEAT THEM OVER THE HEAD THERE WITH EVERY LEGITIMATE DEVICE AT OUR DISPOSAL. IN THIS OUR LEVERAGE IS YUGOSLAV VIEW THAT UNITED NATIONS IS THEIR BASE OF POWER. YOUR MILWAUKEE SPEECH HAD ENORMOUS IMPACT ON THEM BY OPENING POSSIBILITY OF LOWER US COMMITMENT TO U.N.

6. BUT SECOND, LET US DEFINE MORE PRECISELY AMONG OURSELVES WHAT WE REALISTICALLY CAN EXPECT BEFORE WE GO BEYOND NEW YORK TO THE TOTALITY OF YUGOSLAV-AMERICAN RELATIONS. I AM PUZZLED BY USUN'S REFERENCE TO SITTING DOWN WITH THE YUGOSLAVS TO "WORK OUT SOME METES AND BOUNDS" AND BY THE CONTINUAL USE OF THE TERM "GRATUITOUS" TO REFER TO ANY POSITION TAKEN BY THE YUGOSLAVS BEYOND THE SHORES OF THE ADRIATIC. SURELY WE HAVE OUTGROWN THE CONDESCENDING TENDENCY OF OLD TO THINK THAT ONLY AMERICANS CAN HAVE A WORLD VIEW AND A GLOBAL FOREIGN POLICY. AND SURELY WE HAVE LONG AGO UNDERSTOOD THAT IT IS EXACTLY YUGOSLAVIA'S PROXIMITY TO THE SOVIET UNION THAT DRIVES HER TO SEEK VISIBILITY AND SECURITY IN LEADERSHIP OF THE NON-ALIGNED.

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7. THE QUESTION OF WHO IS MORE IMPORTANT TO WHOM I FIND AN ACADEMIC EXERCISE. WHATEVER THE ANSWER, IT IS CLEAR THAT WE ARE VITALLY IMPORTANT TO EACH OTHER. IT IS VERY MUCH IN THE AMERICAN INTEREST TO HELP MAINTAIN THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND MILITARY VIABILITY OF THIS COUNTRY -- AND THUS DENY THE SOVIET UNION THE USE OF THIS STRATEGIC AREA AND PRESERVE YUGOSLAVIA AS AN EXAMPLE TO EACH OF EASTERN EUROPE'S NATIONS.

THIS IS THE CORE OF OUR POLICY HERE AND WE MUST NOT LOSE SIGHT OF IT WHATEVER THE YUGOSLAVS DO IN INTERNATIONAL FORA. THE LEVERS I CAN SEE USUN REACHING FOR -- OUR ECONOMIC AND BUDDING MILITARY RELATIONSHIP -- EACH WOULD CUT AT THE HEART OF THESE MORE ESSENTIAL AMERICAN INTERESTS.

8. HOWEVER, IT IS CLEAR FROM THE EVENTS OF THE PAST FEW MONTHS THT WE CAN INFLUENCE YUGOSLAV BEHAVIOR IN OUR FAVOR BY VIGOROUS ADVOCACY ON THOSE ISSUES WE DEEM OF MOST IMPORTANCE TO US AND WHERE THEY ARE NOT DUG IN FOR HISTORICAL OF IDEOLOGICAL REASONS. IN FACT IT IS PRECISELY YUGOSLAV SUPPORT AND EXPOSURE TO MORE RADICAL CRITICISM ON ISRAEL'S EXPULSION, THE SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION AND PUERTO RICO THAT HAS PROBABLY LEAD TO THEIR STRIDENT EFFORTS TO RENEW THEIR NON-ALIGNED CREDENTIALS AND LEADERSHIP THROUGH THE VIETNAM AND KOREAN MEMBERSHIP QUESTIONS.

9. RECOGNIZING THAT KOREA IS A VITAL INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES, I INSTIGATED CODEL ALBERT TO CRITISIZE YUGOSLAVIA'S LEADERSHIP ON IT LAST MONTH AND HAVE MADE IT A TOPIC OF MY OWN DEMARCHES DURING FOUR MONTHS HERE. BUT THEY ARE INEXTRICABLY ENMESHED IN THIS ONE AS CO-SPONSORS OF THE RESOLUTION AND IN THEIR DRIVE TO LOWER SOVIET AND CHINESE INFLUENCE BY BRINGING KOREA INTO THE NON-ALIGNED AND THE UN. AND WITH VIETNAM THEY HAVE SPECIAL POINT IN REMINDING WORLD A SMALL NATION CAN WAGE A SUCCESSFUL GUERRILLA WAR AGAINST A SUPER-POWER -- A MESSAGE AIMED FROM THE YUGOSLAV VANTAGE POINT AT THEIR LARGE NEIGHBOR TO THE EAST.

10. BUT WE MUST KEEP A BALANCED VIEW OF THEIR OVERALL ACTIVITY AT THE UN. IN THIS REGARD I WOULD APPRECIATE EXPANSION OF REF A'S BRIEF REFERENCE TO YUGOSLAVIA'S CONFIDENTIAL

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"MODERAT" ROLE AT THE SPECIAL SESSION. AND BELIEVE ANY MISUNDERSTANDING ABOUT YUGOSLAVIA'S ROLE AT LIMA DEALT WITH IN REF B.

1. IN SUM, WE HAVE MADE IMPORTANT PROGRESS IN MODERATING YUGOSLAV POSITIONS ON ISSUES OF REAL IMPORTANCE TO US. WE MUST KEEP THEIR FEET TO THE FIRE AND PRESS AHEAD. IF WE MOVE JUDICIOUSLY I BELIEVE THE YUGOSLAVS CAN BE AN ASSET AS WELL AS A LIABILITY IN OUR MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY. BUT LET US NOT THROW THE BABY OUT WITH THE BATH WATER BY OVER-REACTING TO POSITIONS THEY HAVE BEEN TAKING FOR YEARS AND TO THEIR VERY CONSIDERABLE SKILLS DURING THE SKIRMISHING AT FLUSHING MEADOWS.
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